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the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboiili was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

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177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

477 Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[555] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] Caboclo families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the caboclo is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Biboi turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world. He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash. They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Biboi would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Biboi had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But underneath this façade, Biboi was a frightened and anxious man. He would often confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Biboi had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

Biboi's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucu society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Biboi presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive--all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.